Insertions into Historiographic Circuits*

IRENE V. SMALL

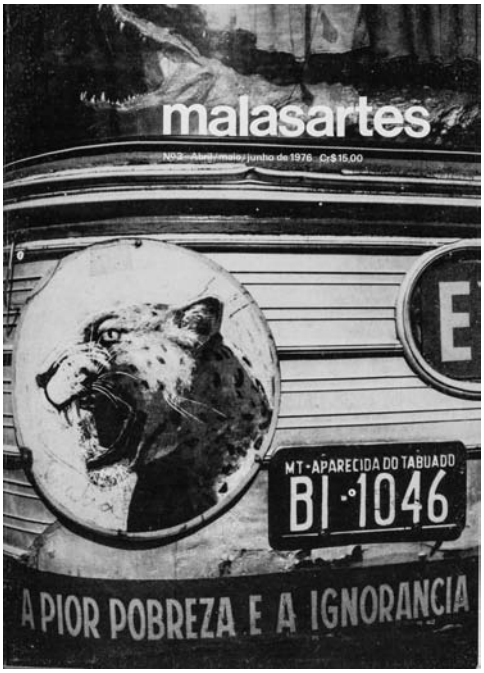
Ronaldo Brito's 1975 text "Neo-concretism, Apex and Rupture of the Brazilian Constructive Project" was the first, and remains the most consequential, analysis of this extraordinary late-1950s art movement. Per its title, it argues that Neo-concretism realized and simultaneously forced into crisis the essential tenets of the constructive tradition of geometric abstraction in Brazil. Brito's essay functions in multiple art-historical registers. It provides a penetrating diagnosis of the structural rifts that underlay the notorious Concrete/Neo-concrete split that divided artists and poets of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. It evaluates a key strain of canonical modernist art from a highly reflexive, "peripheral" point of view. It offers a political analysis of a movement that claimed to be apolitical and a psychoanalytic analysis of a movement that attempted to excise the unconscious. Finally, by charting the imbrication of art-historical positions and socioeconomic frameworks, it established the stakes for artistic production's "insertion into the ideological field."[1]

Brito, then a young poet, critic, and journalist working for the Rio-based weekly *Opinião*, wrote "Neo-concretism, Apex and Rupture of the Brazilian Constructive Project" at the invitation of lawyer, collector, and gallerist Luiz Buarque de Hollanda and publisher Marcos Antônio Marcondes.[2] When a falling-

* I am extraordinarily grateful for the suggestions of Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro and Sérgio B. Martins, who generously read and commented on this essay while it was still in draft form. All translations mine unless otherwise noted.

1. Ronaldo Brito, "Neoconcretismo: Vértice e ruptura do projeto construtivo Brasileiro," (1975), published in part in *Malasartes* 3 (April–June 1976), pp. 9–13, and in full as *Neoconcretismo: Vértice e ruptura do projeto construtivo Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: FUNARTE/Instituto Nacional de Artes Plásticas, 1985); translated as "Neo-concretism, Apex and Rupture of the Brazilian Constructive Project" by Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro with Irene V. Small in this issue, p. 89.

2. Ronaldo Brito, interview with author, Rio de Janeiro, August 25, 2014. In 1973, Buarque de Hollanda, in partnership with Paulo Bittencourt, had opened a gallery that would subsequently host exhibitions by several artists associated with Brito and his group (Carlos Vergara, Waltércio Caldas, Cildo Meireles, and Rubens Gerchman, for example). Buarque de Hollanda was married to Heloisa Buarque de Hollanda, then a doctoral student completing a dissertation on leftist cultural engagement in the years leading up to the military coup of 1964, subsequently published as the influential book *Impressões da Viagem: CPC, Vanguarda e Desbunde 1960/70* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1980). Luiz Buarque de Hollanda was also one of a select number of patients to experience Lygia Clark's experimental therapies when she returned to Rio from Paris in 1976.



Cover of Malasartes *3. 1976.*

out between the two sponsors forestalled its intended release as a book, Brito published the first half of the text in the April–June 1976 issue of the short-lived art magazine *Malasartes*, which he had co-founded a year earlier. The full text was not published until 1985, and only gained wide visibility in Brazil in 1999, when it was reprinted as a larger illustrated book. It is the original mid-1970s moment, however, that is most important for our purposes. For Brito's essay does not simply constitute an art-historical study; it was a concerted effort to intervene within the determining logic of what the author and others termed "the circuit," that is, the conjunction of protagonists, operations, and effects that produce and reproduce that amorphous entity we call "the art world." In this sense, Brito's essay was nothing less than a discursive rejoinder to the provocation of Cildo Meireles's seminal conceptual work *Insertions into Ideological Circuits*, a series of actions and provocations initiated from 1970 to 1975, likewise published in *Malasartes*. In order to comprehend the full weight of Brito's historical analysis, then, we have to consider what such circuits entailed.

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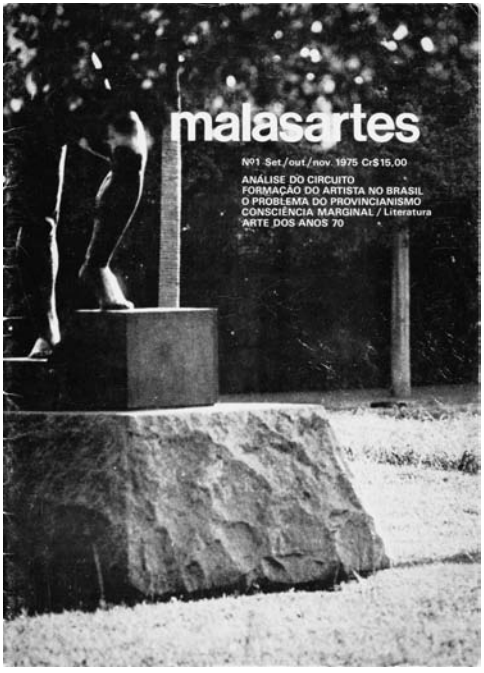
Malasartes was launched in October 1975 at the Museum of Modern Art, Rio de Janeiro (MAM-RJ), by nine co-editors—Bernardo Vilhena, Carlos Vergara, Carlos Zilio, Cildo Meireles, José Resende, Luiz Paulo Baravelli, Ronaldo Brito, Rubens Gerchman, and Waltércio Caldas—several of whom are now key reference points for Brazilian art history and, in some cases, broader accounts of conceptual art. Brito was the sole critic among them. In a terse, five-point statement issued to a newspaper the day preceding the launch, the editors underscored that the publication was an active "cultural discussion" and not the product of a unified "group." Moreover, it was a journal about the "politics of art," which is to say it prioritized not "art objects" but rather "the significations of art" and its "insertion . . . into society."[3] The time was ripe for such an initiative. In the years prior, many advanced artistic practices in Brazil had turned toward the discursive, sociological, and institutional. To name only a few examples: In 1969, an interdisciplinary "experimental unit" was created at MAM-RJ, seed of the future Área Experimental, inaugurated in 1975; in 1970, Meireles explored classified ads and soon after debuted his larger *Insertions* series; in 1973,

3. See Maria Lucia Rangel, "As boas artes de 'Malasartes,'" *Jornal do Brasil*, October 13, 1975.



Cover of Malasartes *1. 1975.*

Antonio Manuel published rogue editions of newspapers; in 1975, Rubens Gerchman founded an art school conceived as an "informational deposit and experimental center," while MAM-RJ hosted an exhibition on "marginal communication" organized by the Paris-based Collectif d'Art Sociologique.[4]

Malasartes brought several practitioners affiliated with such initiatives together.[5] It published examples of theirs and others' projects, many of which were designed to bypass the conventional gallery system. It disseminated translations of texts relevant to their practices, including Joseph Kosuth's "Art After Philosophy," Allan Kaprow's "The Education of an Un-Artist," Terry Smith's "The Problem of Provincialism," and Achille Bonito Oliva's "Art and the System of Art." It also reprinted key examples of Brazilian art criticism (notably Ferreira Gullar's pivotal Neo-concrete text "Theory of the Non-Object" and Mário Pedrosa's essay on self-taught modernist painter Alfredo Volpi). Finally, it published original theoretical and historical pieces. These ranged from texts directly pertaining to art criticism and practice (significant here are José Resende's "The Formation of the Artist in Brazil," which advocated critical, research-based investigations, and his "The Absence of Sculpture," which posited public space as a necessary site of conflict) to studies that took on the politics of culture writ large (for instance, Carlos Guilherme Mota's work-in-progress "Ideology in Brazilian Culture," a book that became highly influential after its publication in 1977). In this sense, *Malasartes* sought to escape a certain provincialism—even "dilettantism," as Resende put it—endemic to the contemporaneous Brazilian art world, while rigorously interrogating the conditions of local production and dissemination.[6]

The journal's title references the Ibero-Brazilian folkloric character Pedro Malasartes, a nomadic antihero known for his irreverence and cunning. While the trickster persona might seem ill fitted to the publication's theoretical orientation and austere, even gritty aesthetic, it offered an extant model of popular, rogue conceptualism bent on upsetting dominant institutions and authorities. The wordplay of *Malasartes*, meanwhile, evokes "evil" or "bad" arts and "art baggage," as well as *Flor do Mal*, a countercultural magazine published in Rio in the early 1970s, in turn a reference to Charles Baudelaire's 1857 volume of poems. Pedro Malasartes was also the subject of a comic libretto written by Brazilian modernist writer Mario de Andrade in 1928. The name *Malasartes*, then, sought to activate an ironic, negational impulse that positioned the popular as a caustic through-line of the avant-garde.

4. For a useful overview of experimental practices during this period, see Fernada Lopes, *Área Experimental: Lugar, Espaço e Dimensão do Experimental na Arte Brasileira dos Anos 1970* (Rio de Janeiro: FIGO Prestígio Editorial, 2013); Giselle Ruiz, *Arte/Cultura em Trânsito: O MAM/RJ na Década de 1970* (Rio de Janeiro: MAUAD Editora, 2013); and Frederico Morais, *Cronologia das Artes Plásticas no Rio de Janeiro 1816–1994* (Rio de Janeiro: Top Books, 1994).

5. Meireles, for example, co-founded MAM-RJ's "experimental unit," and several of the editors were involved in the subsequent creation of the Área Experimental. Lopes likewise cites an undated text by Brito that suggests that the museum should "follow a line of rigorous and aggressive intervention within the so-called circuit of art," a strategy in keeping with that elaborated by *Malasartes*. See Lopes, *Área Experimental*, pp. 44–47.

6. José Resende, "A Formação do Artista no Brasil," *Malasartes* 1 (September–November 1975), p. 24.

As Fábio Lopes de Souza Santos and Vanessa Rosa Machado have argued, the journal's engagement with the popular had a distinctly political valence.[7] In joining theoretical analyses of nationalism and regionalism with artistic explorations of quotidian and mass phenomena (Miguel Rio Branco's bleak photo-essay of workers' housing in Brasília's satellite towns or Carlos Vergara's quasi-anthropological reportage on the carnival group Cacique de Ramos, for instance), *Malasartes* sought to disengage strains of popular experience and cultural manifestation from their mythologization within the nationalist ideology of the state. This ideology had roots in the populism of the 1930s and the developmentalist push of the 1950s. But it was upheld and significantly advanced by the military dictatorship that took power in 1964. It is against this chilling conjunction of political repression with cultural and economic ideology that *Malasartes* took aim.

Indeed, the journal marks a crucial moment in Brazilian history. It emerged after the most violent phase of the military dictatorship (the so-called *anos de chumbo*, or "years of lead," under the rule of General Emílio Médici, from 1969 to 1974), and in the wake of an "economic miracle" that concentrated wealth within an increasingly

7. Fábio Lopes de Souza Santos and Vanessa Rosa Machado, "A Revista Malasartes e Novas Representações do Povo Brasileira," *Anais do XXI Encontro Estadual de História—ANPUH-SP*—Campinas (September 2012). http://www.encontro2012.sp.anpuh.org/resources/anais/17/1342375882_ARQUIVO_SANTOSMACHADO_ANPUH2012.pdf.


Fotografia

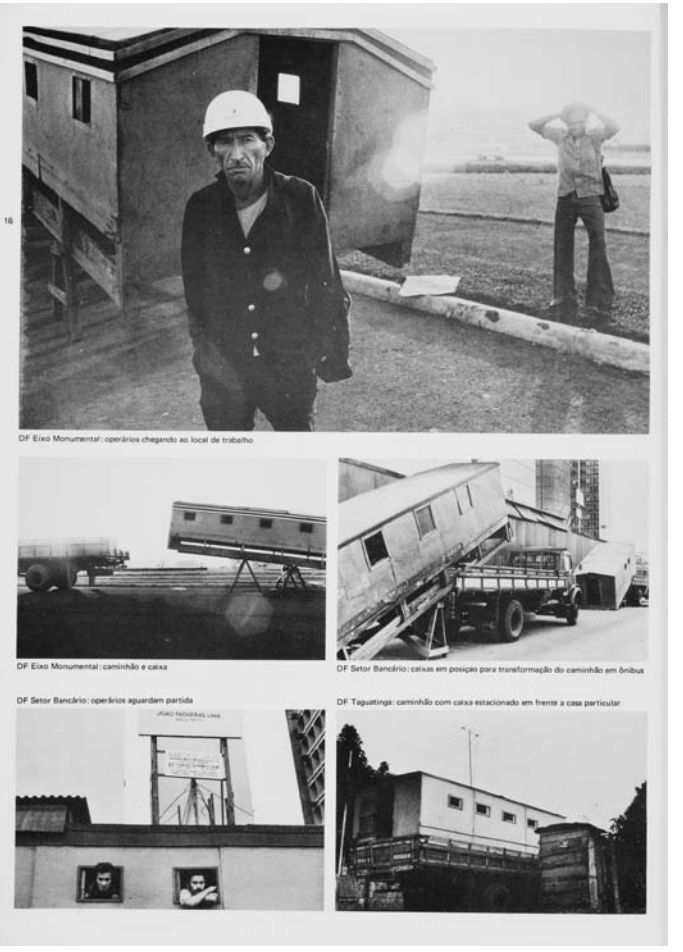
SATÉLITES
Miguel Rio Branco

Brasília do lado da sombra, detrás dos palácios e das catedrais. O "outro" de Brasília: as cidades satélites, as populações que moram do lado de fora, à margem, que são o excesso, algo que parece escapar ao planejamento e à razão. Um olho crítico percorre e registra a vida e o ambiente dessas populações. O ensaio de Miguel Rio Branco revela o avesso de Brasília.

DF Eixo Monumental: caminhão com sua caixa adaptável transporta operários para local de trabalho

DF Eixo Monumental: caixa sendo retirada do caminhão e colocada sobre cavaletes

Page showing Miguel Rio Branco, Satellites*, in* Malasartes *2. 1976.*

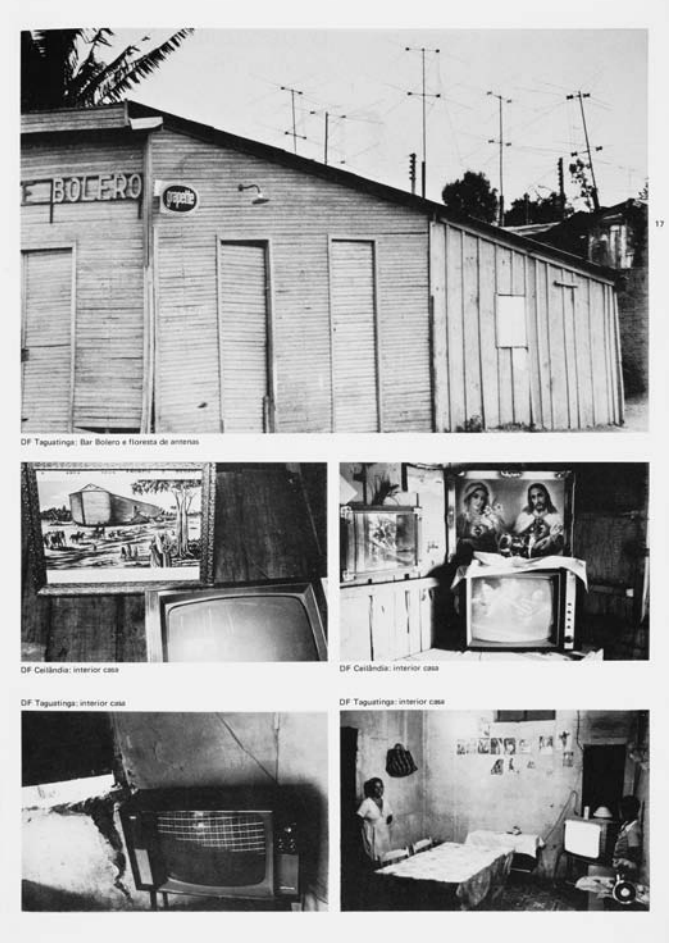


Spread showing Rio Branco,
Satellites*, in* Malasartes *2. 1976.*

elite upper and middle class. In the case of the "economic miracle," artistic practice was directly implicated, as new patterns of consumption led to a distorted and highly problematic art market bloated by currency instability and speculation. As Elena Shtromberg has noted in her study of art systems in the 1970s, persistent inflation combined with wildly vacillating prices meant that money was a particularly inconsistent indicator of value in the Brazilian economy.[8] Moreover, the collapse of the Bretton Woods agreements and the 1971 decision to unlink the dollar with gold spawned an international currency crisis.[9] Among the wealthy and the aspirational

8. Elena Shtromberg, *Art Systems: Brazil in the 1970s* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015).

9. Sérgio B. Martins has argued for a relation between this international crisis and Cildo Meireles's works of this period in his essay "Occasion" in *Cildo Meireles,* ed. João Fernandes (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 2013), pp. 208–14.



upper-middle class, the art market became a logical venue for investment, combining the practical benefits of tangible assets with the social capital of "high culture."

Artists were well aware of the contradictions and opportunism that resulted from both the local market "boom," as it was called using the English term, and the larger disintegration of international financial networks. Meireles, for example, concisely diagrammed the way a work of art's symbolic value augments its exchange value in his *Árvore do dinheiro* (Money tree), 1969, or decreases its use value in *Zero cruzeiro*, 1974–78. In the earlier work, the artist presented one thousand folded and stacked one-cruzeiro notes on a pedestal for an apparent price of two thousand cruzeiros; in the later work, he mimicked an actual banknote, replacing its currency denomination with *0*. Given that each real banknote deaccessioned by the treasury was also worth zero cruzeiros, Meireles's paired projects

ironically concatenated the failure of both national governments and international monetary systems to stabilize currency with the success of the art market in transforming symbolic content into monetary wealth.[10] As Sérgio Martins has argued, the broader "dematerialization" of money in the 1970s thus formed the conditions of possibility for both the conceptual impulse of Meireles's work and elements of the global financial crises of recent years.[11]

ANÁLISE DO CIRCUITO
Ronaldo Brito

Ronaldo Brito. "Analysis of the Circuit." Malasartes *1. 1975.*

Of course, the art market (at least then) was not particularly interested in works such as Meireles's, preferring traditional mediums such as painting and "redundant" artistic idioms, as Brito called them, such as expressionism or portraiture.[12] But what Meireles, Brito, and the other editors of *Malasartes* realized was that no work existed in neutral relation to the market system (both as a real economic force and a metaphor for processes of commodification and capitalism writ large). As the editors wrote in their introduction to the inaugural issue of 1975, it was therefore necessary "to study the processes and production of art, its distribution, and the mechanisms by which it produces feedback."[13]

It was in this spirit that the first issue opened with Brito's text "Analysis of the Circuit." A result of conversations among the nine editors, the text constitutes the magazine's most explicit formulation of the problem of the art market and the possibilities for acting within and against its limits.[14] For Brito, the market was not entirely synonymous with the circuit; rather, the market put all of the circuit's elements—"artists, critics, collectors, dealers, and the public"—"in service of its ideology."[15] This

10. On Meireles's use of currency and interrogation of value, see also Shtromberg, "Currency," in *Art Systems*, pp. 12–41, and essays by João Fernandes and Guilherme Wisnik in *Cildo Meireles.*

11. Martins, "Occasion," in *Cildo Meireles*, pp. 209–10.

12. Ronaldo Brito, "Análise do Circuito," *Malasartes* 1 (September–November 1975), p. 5.

13. "Introdução," *Malasartes* 1 (September–November 1975), p. 4.

14. Ronaldo Brito, "Malasartes: Um depoimento pessoal" (1983), reprinted in *Experiência Crítica: Ronaldo Brito*, ed. Sueli de Lima (São Paulo: CosacNaify, 2005), pp. 95–98.

15. Brito, "Análise do Circuito," p. 5.

ideology positioned the artwork in a mythical, apolitical realm of "truth" and "civilization" precisely so that it could be acquired "as a sign of class distinction."[16] Brito's formulation here is in keeping with contemporaneous theorizations of the subject (he cites Jean Baudrillard, Pierre Bourdieu, and Simon Marchán Fiz, for instance). But it was also a result of the crushing combination of overt repression and market liberalism that characterized the Brazilian dictatorship's policies. Brito notes that in addition to "recuperating" works that might otherwise challenge dominant ideologies, the market actively "blockades" works in order to neutralize their symbolic production.[17] At first blush, this latter characterization seems ham-fisted: We know that the market is far more pliant in its machinations and that co-optation is infinitely malleable to its purposes. But for Brito, it was precisely the mutual control of signification by economic and political forces that had to be thrown into relief. In his day job as a critic for *Opinião*, Brito frequently ran into problems with the government censors (his review of Harold Rosenberg's *Tradition of the New* was censored at least three times, for example).[18] Exhibitions, too, were notoriously censored and canceled.[19] Obstruction and erasure were therefore real threats to communication. On the flip side, if circumvention and displacement were pragmatic strategies with which to resist them, they quickly became conceptual strategies in turn.

We can situate Meireles's now-canonical series *Insertions into Ideological Circuits* precisely in relation to this double operation of ideology. Meireles's series—which consisted of imprinting provocative messages on objects such as Coca-Cola bottles and banknotes and returning them into circulation—has widely been interpreted as a guerrilla intervention aimed at Brazil's military regime and its complicity with US interests.[20] Indeed, a great part of the project's corrosive political power comes from its mobilization of extra-artistic circuits (a currency system controlled by the state, a commodity system controlled by a multinational cor-

16. Ibid., pp. 5,6. Although Pierre Bourdieu's *La distincion* was not published until 1979 (and in Brazil not until 2007), the French sociologist's work was already available in translation at the time of Brito's essay, for example in the 1974 volume of essays *A Economia das trocas simbólicas,* edited by Sergio Miceli (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1974), which included the text "Modos de Produção and Percepção Artísticos." See also José Henrique Bortoluci, Luiz C. Jackson, and Fernando A. Pinheiro Filho, "Contemporâneo Clássico: A Recepção de Pierre Bourdieu no Brasil," *Lua Nova* (São Paulo) 94 (2015), pp. 217–54.

17. Brito, "Análise do Circuito," p. 6.

18. Ronaldo Brito, interview with author, Rio de Janeiro, 2014. Brito had worked at *Opinião* since 1972.

19. A key instance of censorship was the 1969 closure of an exhibition of artists selected for the VI Bienal de Jovens de Paris, slated to be held at the Museu de Arte Moderno do Rio de Janeiro. The galleries intended for the works in Paris remained empty for the duration of the Bienal, a protest strategy that in turn anticipated the internationally coordinated boycott of the 10th São Paulo Bienal later that year. See Claudia Calirman, "'Non à la Biennale de São Paulo,'" in *Brazilian Art Under Dictatorship: Antonio Manuel, Artur Barrio, and Cildo Meireles* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

20. See, for example, Paulo Herkenhoff, "A Labyrinthine Ghetto: The Work of Cildo Meireles," in *Cildo Meireles*, ed. Dan Cameron (London: Phaidon, 1999); and Mari Carmen Ramírez, "Blue Print Circuits: Conceptual Art and Politics in Latin America," in *Latin American Artists of the Twentieth Century*, ed. Waldo Rasmussen (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1993).

poration) rather than circuits internal to the art world such as the auction house, gallery, or museum. Shtromberg, for example, notes that one of the most important political pamphlets of the time, Carlos Marighella's *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* (1969), likewise foregrounded circulating content in a manner such that it could take on a life of its own.[21]

Yet Meireles debuted the series in a highly specific context, namely, Kynaston McShine's famed *Information* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1970. As Teresa Cristina Jardim de Santa Cruz Oliveira has argued in her study on the series, the first and overarching "circuit" into which it was inserted was therefore that of the art world itself (and a putatively "global" one at that).[22] This particular valence of the circuit is consonant with Brito's use of the term, and doubtless there was mutual influence between the two.[23] In fact, it was in the inaugural issue of *Malasartes*, alongside Brito's "Analysis of the Circuit," that Meireles published his first statement on *Insertions Into Ideological Circuits*.[24] Here Meireles defines the circuit as "a repetition," a "circulation created by repetition," and a "cyclical repetition of the trajectory of information by means of a vehicle."[25] It is hardly a leap to comprehend that such circuits pertained to political, economic, and art-world systems alike. The enthusiastic reception of conventional representational painting (an art-historical "repetition") within the contemporaneous Brazilian market ("a circulation created by repetition") and the discursive valorization of such work ("a cyclical repetition of the trajectory of information by means of a vehicle") is a case in point. Thus, while it would be shortsighted to insist that Meireles's project was purely circumscribed within the art world, it behooves us to attend to how its political implications proceeded from a reflexive inquiry into these very particular conditions of production and reception.

Conversely, it is equally important to comprehend that Brito's dissection of the art market—and the editorial project of *Malasartes* more broadly—was not passive in relation to the overarching conditions of either the art circuit or those of politics or the economy. As Brito wrote, "The question is not to diagnose a system

21. Shtromberg, *Art Systems: Brazil in the 1970s*, p. 31 and note 83.

22. Teresa Cristina Jardim de Santa Cruz Oliveira, "Systems and Feedback: Cildo Meireles's Insertions into Ideological Circuits, 1970–Ongoing" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2013). As Jardim de Santa Cruz Oliveira notes, this initial "insertion" of the work at MoMA in New York generated a response by the Brazilian critic Frederico Morais, who staged a curatorial response in the form of an exhibition titled *A Nova Crítica*, part of a cycle of exhibitions titled *Agnus Dei*, at Petit Galerie in Rio shortly after *Information* opened in New York. Here he displayed two of Meireles's altered Coca-Cola bottles among 1,500 other examples, demonstrating the minute scale of the intervention. See also Morais, *Cronologia das Artes Plásticas no Rio de Janeiro 1816–1994*, pp. 311–12.

23. As Brito put it in a recent interview, "I think the idea of the circuit perhaps came from [Meireles's] work." Interview with author, 2014.

24. This appears as part of a larger spread organized by Meireles titled "Quem se desloca receba, quem pede tem preferência," which included works by Raymundo Collares, Guilherme Vaz, Tunga, Claudio Paiva, Vincente Pereira, Umberto Costa Barros, Teresa Simões, Alfredo Fontes, Artur Barrio, Luiz Fonseca, and Luiz Alphonsus, in *Malasartes* 1 (September–November 1975), pp. 14–19. Meireles revised the text around 1981, and it is this revised text that is most commonly republished in conjunction with the work.

25. Cildo Meireles, "Inserções em Circuitos Ideológicos: Abril/Maio 1970," in "Quem se desloca receba, quem pede tem preferência," p. 15.

Cildo Meireles. "Insertions into Ideological Circuits." April–May 1970."
Malasartes *1. 1975.*

but to understand a reality in order to intervene within it."[26] Patricia Corrêa has observed that the connotations of the circuit were therefore both positive ("mobility, vitality, extension") and negative ("closure, stability, repetition").[27] The aim, in short, was to politicize the circuit by rendering its logic visible, identifying its fissures, multiplying its lines of flight. For Brito, this meant that artists had to reformulate the role of the artist in relation to society, invent alternate forms of distribution, and develop new audiences.

26. Brito, "Análise do Circuito," p. 5.

27. Patricia Corrêa, "Circuito, cidade e arte: Dois textos de *Malasartes*," *Arte e Ensaios* 17 (2008), p. 76.

It also meant that it was necessary to open new channels for critical discourse and reorient their vectors. For as Brito recognized, "the market sells not only the object but a determined reading of it."[28] Indeed, the last strategy outlined in Brito's "Analysis of the Circuit" was the "formulation of a critical history of Brazilian art" that would counter the market's co-optation and neutralization of art criticism. As he wrote, "[T]he question is this: how to transform the existent reading of art within our cultural environment. It is clear that it is urgent to open spaces that can support a theoretical production capable of repositioning contemporary Brazilian and international art as an object of discussion."[29] The ensuing publication of the Neo-concretism study was clearly Brito's response.

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"Neo-concretism, Apex and Rupture of the Brazilian Constructive Project" was, first, the critical recuperation of an alternate lineage of modernism within Brazilian art. In an environment that over-valorized painting—specifically, representational idioms associated with canonical Brazilian modernists such as Candido Portinari—Neo-concretism offered an instance of an experimental practice that radicalized painting to a point where it was hardly recognized as such. For Brito, the most important strains of contemporary Brazilian art had their origin neither in the false continuity posited by patrimony nor the financial ebullience of the market, but in this institutional "rupture" and its consequent reformulation of the relation between art and society.

From a contemporary perspective, this seems obvious: Neo-concretism is one of the best-known Brazilian art movements (if not the best known), and it is widely cited as a point of departure for some of the most celebrated artists visible in the domestic and international scenes. In 1966, Mário Pedrosa had already described Hélio Oiticica's work as signaling a new "environmental, postmodern art."[30] Yet in 1975, not a single study had been written about Neo-concretism, and while the work of artists linked with Neo-concretism such as Oiticica, Lygia Clark, and Lygia Pape was closely followed in artistic circles intimate with those of *Malasartes*, no significant exhibitions had been organized about the Neo-concrete moment.[31] (The first, *Projeto Construtivo Brasileiro na Arte [1950–1962]*, came in 1977 and drew its

28. Brito, "Análise do Circuito," p. 5.

29. Ibid., p. 6.

30. Mário Pedrosa, "Arte ambiental, arte pós-moderna, Hélio Oiticica" (1966), translated and republished in *Mário Pedrosa: Primary Documents*, ed. Gloria Ferreira and Paulo Herkenhoff (New York: Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2015), pp. 314–17.

31. The possible exception would be the important 1967 exhibition *Nova Objetividade Brasileira*, organized by Oiticica and several other artists at the Museu de Arte Moderna do Rio de Janeiro, which sought to put the earlier experiments of Oiticica and other artists associated with Concretism and Neo-concretism (Waldemar Cordeiro, Clark, and Pape, for instance) in dialogue with more recent practices that rearticulated paradigms such as the constructive and the participatory. See Oiticica, "Esquema Geral da Nova Objetividade," in *Nova Objetividade Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Museu de Arte Moderna do Rio de Janeiro, 1967).

title from Brito's text.)[32] The work of Neo-concrete artists was largely absent from the market. Moreover, it did not factor into the nationalist discourse of the Left, one that paradoxically shared "various cross-fertilizations," as Brito remarked in a recent interview, with that of the dictatorship.[33] That Ferreira Gullar, principal theorist of Neo-concretism turned leftist organizer, would all but dismiss the avant-garde in his 1969 essay "Vanguard and Underdevelopment," is telling.[34] Brito's first "insertion" into the ideological circuit was therefore a historiographic reorientation of modernism, Brazilian modernism, and the avant-garde.

His second insertion was methodological. For if Brazil's institutional Left had stunningly failed to comprehend the constructive project of geometric abstraction, this project, too, had equally failed to internalize the lessons of historical materialism, namely, that artistic phenomena are inextricable from their economic and political contexts. It was therefore "mandatory," Brito insisted, to situate Neo-concretism and the strands of art-historical practice that gave rise to it within very specific conditions of possibility.[35] While this, too, now seems unremarkable as a methodological provocation, throughout much of the 1950s and even the 1960s, constructive tendencies were lumped together in terms of presumed stylistic affinities, irrespective of radically divergent political contexts and aims. Thus in the Brazilian environment from which Neo-concretism emerged, the apolitical and technicist practices of Max Bill, Antoine Pevsner, and Naum Gabo represented "constructivism" as much if not more so than did the fiercely political positions of Vladimir Tatlin and El Lissitzky.[36] And although Neo-concretism consciously reoriented its art-historical through-lines around figures such as Malevich and Tatlin, it did so from an entirely apolitical point of view.

32. The exhibition was organized by Aracy Amaral and Lygia Pape and initially included Brito's participation. The first historical presentation of the material, it also reignited the infamous Rio–São Paulo divide. See *Projeto Construtivo Brasileira na Arte (1950–1962)* (Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo: Museu de Arte Moderna do Rio de Janeiro and Pinacoteca do Estado do São Paulo, 1977), as well as *Fac-símilie: Projeto Construtivo Brasileira na Arte (1950–1962)* (São Paulo: Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, 2015). A brief excerpt from Brito's study was included in the catalogue.

33. Bruno Garcia, "Entrevista com Ronaldo Brito: Abaixo o Modernismo!," *Revista de História* (January 10, 2012), http://www.revistadehistoria.com.br/secao/entrevista/ronaldo-brito. As he described his stance in the 1970s, "My enemy number one was populism. There were various cross-fertilizations between the nationalism of the dictatorship, the militants, and the nationalist-populism of the Left. It is a sickness endemic to the Brazilian Left."

34. Ferreira Gullar, "Vanguarda e subdesenvolvimento" (1969), reprinted in *Cultura posta em questão; Vanguarda e Subdesenvolvimento: Ensaios Sobre Arte* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Editora, 2002). On Gullar's political shift and break with Neo-concretism in the early 1960s, see my "Exit and Impasse: Ferreira Gullar and the 'New History' of the Last Avant-Garde," *Third Text* 26, no. 1 (January 2012), pp. 91–101.

35. Brito, "Neo-concretism, Apex and Rupture of the Brazilian Constructive Project," p. 95. The page numbers, hereafter included in the body of the text, refer to the translation in this issue of *October*.

36. In 1960, for example, Mário Pedrosa wrote, "[T]he greatest sculptors of the first half of the twentieth century did not originate with Cubism. Look at Gabo or especially Pevsner and Arp, who from the beginning were the initiators of Constuctivism or of Dadism, respectively." "Significação de Lygia Clark," reprinted and translated in *Mário Pedrosa: Primary Documents*, p. 299. On the reception of Constructivism, see Benjamin Buchloh, "Cold War Constructivism" (1990), in *Formalism and Historicity: Models and Methods in Twentieth-Century Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2015).

Brito's study, then, was the first Brazilian appraisal of the Western and Soviet versions of constructivism as distinct idioms developed within distinct structural conditions that amplified, curtailed, or distorted their art-historical contributions in turn.[37] From this perspective, it was the Soviet Constructivists' rejection of the social *dispositif*—what Brito terms "statute"—of art and their inscription of practice within revolutionary praxis that fundamentally transformed the work of art. As Brito wrote, the resulting "instrument" was "a manifestation of singularities, and no longer of individualities" that characterized the old humanist worldview (p. 102). By contrast, while Western variants of constructivism likewise sought to transform society, they were complicit with the capitalist organization of production and upheld a positivist notion of progress. According to Brito, the resulting works were little more than designed products that fed into "the capitalist strategy of channeling singularities, even perverse ones, into the very heart of the consumer apparatus" (p. 98). This forceful decoupling of the various strands of constructive practice and the location of Neoconcretism in the structural cleft that emerged between them was itself significant. Within a contemporaneous context in which art discourse was largely celebratory, acritical, and above all apolitical, moreover, Brito's reactivation of Alexei Gan's 1922 directive that "the theory of historical materialism . . . also serves as a method for studying art history" (p. 100) was nothing short of extraordinary.[38]

Marx was one anchor of Brito's methodological intervention; Freud was the other. This orientation likewise stemmed from a theoretical lacuna internal to the critic's subject of study—as Brito put it, the "structural incapacity of the constructive project to comprehend . . . Surrealism and especially Dadaism . . . in their correct registers" (p. 103). Scholars such as Annette Michelson, Briony Fer, and Christina Kiaer have persuasively demonstrated how subjectivity, desire, the unconscious, and the irrational have played determining roles in various formulations of geometric abstraction (if even in the form of repression).[39] In their day, however, Concretism and Neo-concretism were largely dismissive of such "retrograde" tendencies, as Gullar termed them, and seemingly oblivious to the critical theoretical possibilities inaugurated by psychoanalysis.[40] "If the Surrealists misin-

37. By contrast, Gullar's earlier appraisal of these various strands in his art-historical series "Etapas da Arte Contemporânea," published in the *Suplemento Dominical do Jornal do Brasil*, was largely formalist. See, for example, "Movimentos Russos" (1959) and "Bauhaus" (1960), in *Etapas da Arte Contemporânea: Do Cubismo à Arte Neoconcreta* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Revan, 1998), pp. 128–49, 189–211. Pedrosa, however, may have intended such an analysis in 1961, when he attempted, but ultimately failed, to organize an exhibition on Russian Constructivism for the São Paulo Bienal.

38. Brito cites this passage from Gan's 1922 manifesto "Constructivism."

39. Annette Michelson, "De-Stijl: Its Other Face, Abstraction and Cacophony, or What Was the Matter with Hegel?," *October* 23 (Fall 1982), pp. 3–26; Briony Fer, "Decoration and Necessity: Mondrian's Excess," in *On Abstract Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 33–54; and Christina Kiaer, "Rodchenko in Paris," in *Imagine No Possessions: The Socialist Objects of Russian Constructivism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), pp. 199–242.

40. Ferreira Gullar, "Manifesto Neoconcreto," *Suplemento Dominical do Jornal do Brasil*, March 22, 1959, pp. 4–5. This avowed dismissal of Surrealism as an artistic movement, however, must be paired with the great interest among several artists and critics associated with Neo-concretism with the art of

terpreted Freud by over-romanticizing him," Brito wrote, "the constructive artists did not even reach him" (p.105). In marked contrast, he sought to reveal the historical unconscious of Concretism and Neo-concretism, the former a kind of reaction-formation, the latter a mobilization of desire.

Although never explicitly acknowledged, this methodological orientation was surely influenced by contemporaneous intellectual currents. These include strategies adopted by Brito's own cohort of artists (Meireles's affinity to Duchamp and Tunga's to Surrealism, for instance), as well as the critic's absorption of such figures as Maurice Blanchot, Michel Foucault, Georges Bataille, Walter Benjamin, Gilles Deleuze, and Felix Guattari.[41] Brito graduated from the Pontífica Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio) in 1973, majoring in social communications. Earlier that year, Foucault gave a series of lectures hosted by the university's literature department on juridical practices and the question of truth (all the more remarkable given that it was at the height of the dictatorship). The transcription of these lectures was published in 1974.[42] In his remarks, Foucault noted that Marxism had failed to interrogate the subject as a historical entity brought into being through social practices and their attendant territories of knowledge. But—and here he cited Deleuze and Guattari's recently published *L'Anti-Œdipe*—whereas psychoanalysis put the very notion of the subject under inspection, it also controlled this subject's desire by submitting it to coercive, ahistorical schemas (the Oedipus complex prime among them). What would it mean, by contrast, to treat the subject as a properly historical construction? To comprehend, as Foucault observed, following Nietzsche, that knowledge "is always a perspective" and not an *a priori*?[43]

Internalizing the lessons of Marx and Freud, Brito identified the subject as a principal blind spot of constructive thinking, particularly in the Western variants most influential in Brazil (notably, Max Bill and the Ulm School). As he wrote, these tendencies assumed a neutral, universal subject: "the same subject of nineteenth-century science, dominated by the ideology of objective knowledge and ignorant of the implications that arise from an awareness of one's own position in the production of knowledge" (p. 105). Not only was this position not properly epistemological, it assumed that "social classes did not exist; there was only humanity and its linear progress toward a scientific and technological civilization" (p. 101). This in turn prevented artists from comprehending the circumscribed role of art within society. In a formulation that echoes Brito's analysis of the contemporary circuit, this positivist view could not reveal art "as it really was: an instru-

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the mentally ill, to which they were exposed through the psychiatrist Nise de Silveira and the experimental therapies she developed at her clinic in Engenho do Dentro, Rio. Gullar, himself a poet, was likewise influenced by the poetry of Antonin Artaud. See Kaira M. Cabañas, ed., *Specters of Artaud: Language and the Arts in the 1950s* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 2012) and "Learning from Madness: Mário Pedrosa and the Physiognomic Gestalt," *October* 153 (Summer 2015), pp. 42–64.

41. Brito noted that he had been exposed to these figures in his 2014 interview with me.

42. Michel Foucault, "A Verdade e as Formas Jurídicas," *Cadernos da PUC-RIO* 16 (Rio de Janeiro: NEA Editora, 1974).

43. Ibid., p. 25.

ment, an institution, a more or less closed circuit with a formalized history (the famous art history), and a specific market" (p. 105).

Brito reserved his harshest criticism for these "specifics" of the Brazilian absorption and mobilization of constructive tendencies. For in hewing so closely to signature elements of the Western constructive project—a belief in positivism, industrial production, the neutrality of the subject—Brazilian Concretists failed to adequately come to terms with their own country's prevailing reality of socioeconomic underdevelopment. In Brito's searing analysis, the result was a quasi-colonial "mimicry of Swiss formalist rationalism," one whose "messianic" desire to "join the developed world" was nothing less than an "infantile" attempt to "attain the power of the father" (pp. 119, 94). (It is hardly a coincidence that the dictatorship, with its obsession with the authoritarian father, could be described in similar terms.) Only Neo-concretism broke with this fiction of universality, according to Brito. Simply put, "Concretism would be the dogmatic phase and Neo-concretism the phase of rupture; Concretism the phase of implementation and Neo-concretism the shock of local adaptation" (p. 121).

It was precisely because the dominant strains of the constructive project failed to critique the subject that Brito found it necessary to look to their "margins," their "other," in the form of Dada and Surrealism (p. 103). And he did so at both an art-historical and methodological level: Dada (Duchamp in particular) revealed the institutional apparatus of art and invented critical strategies for "the insertion of the work of art into the field of ideological conflicts"; Surrealism foregrounded the operations of desire (p. 108). If we follow Brito's argument that Concretism's inability to find its proper application within the conditions of Brazilian underdevelopment resulted from its attempt to mimetically reproduce an orthodox and "universal" model of constructivism, Neo-concretism, which arose from the "schism" produced by such "structural pressures," revealed something of the unconscious of the constructive project itself. This, in short, is why it was both "the apex and rupture" of that endeavor.

It follows that desire and subjectivity—elements repressed within key constructive formulations—reemerged with a force in Neo-concretism. For Brito, Concretism's prioritization of rationalism at the expense the unconscious meant that "'singularities' occurred only as residues" (p. 118). Neo-concretism, by contrast, "comprehended that research in art necessarily included singularities. Indeed, it was precisely the task to formalize them" (p. 137). Thus, whereas the Concretists approached the spatial principles of Gestalt psychology in terms of instrumental "rules" and technical "demonstrations," Neo-concretists rendered them "libidinal," "experiential," even "erotic." Whereas Concretism contracted the time of production in an effort to facilitate serial reproduction, Neo-concretism dilated it "so as to allow for the intervention of the spectator" (p. 133). Finally, whereas Concretism conceived of the subject in terms of "the rationality of the ego," Neo-concretism returned to the outmoded notion of "expression" so as to signal that "the *difference* of the artistic practice would be maintained" (pp. 118, 130).

Importantly, Brito argued that such an approach to subjectivity still failed to acknowledge "its truth as an *effect produced by the system*" (p. 137). Neo-concretism, in short, was "politically opaque," and "abdicated" social engagement for "the neutral realms of *culture* and *philosophy*" (p. 120). Thus, despite the fact that it emerged from a constructive tradition committed to reforming if not revolutionizing the world around it, Neo-concretism remained aloof from any pragmatic or political platforms. The result, in Brito's assessment, was a typically Brazilian paradox: "a constructive avant-garde operating in the margins without any plan of social transformation" (p. 125). And yet if this contradiction amounted to a certain misalignment with core constructive tenets, it clearly demonstrated the failure of the Concretists to realize just such a transformation within the local context of Brazil. In other words, by establishing a critical "laterality" in relation to the Brazilian constructive project, Neo-concretism brought about its crisis, revealing its de facto collusion with existing socioeconomic structures. For Brito, this was Neo-concretism's politics: not transformation, but marginality; not projection, but negation; not realization, but an excess that multiplied singularities of subjectivity, time, and the space of encounter.

Ultimately, it was this overwhelmingly phenomenological orientation of the Neo-concrete work that allowed for its "insertion" into "real space," one "anchored in the reality of the Brazilian cultural environment" (pp. 140, 134). Brito gave little indication as to the coordinates of this environment, or to how such an insertion would move from a purely spatial field to one that was actively cultural or ideological. Neo-concretism had already dissolved by the time Oiticica and Clark formulated their radical social and behavioral experiments of the later 1960s and '70s, and Meireles's own ideological insertions were yet to come. As Michael Asbury has observed, positing a seamless continuity between Neo-concretism and later practices is one of the most persistent misconceptions of Brazilian art.[44] Yet Brito argued that Neo-concretism was the generative seed of contemporary Brazilian art, first, because it sought to "abolish the distance between art and life," and, second, because contemporary art, by his own definition, was that which "decides to investigate the actual location where it emerges and functions" (pp. 134, 135). Clearly, the critic approached his subject with hindsight and a teleology of his own. But this, in no small part, was the point. For Brito, one of the enduring effects of colonialism was a historiographic matrix of power in which dominant cultures generated and reinforced narratives about their own production. Historians from marginalized cultures such as Brazil, by contrast, were constrained to the "residual and fragmentary" (p. 141). To inaugurate a critical art history that ran counter to both a canonical narrative of Brazilian modernism and a Eurocentric narrative of international constructivism, then, was a political insertion in its own right.

44. See Michael Asbury, "Neoconcretism and Minimalism: On Ferreira Gullar's Theory of the Non-object," in *Cosmopolitan Modernisms*, ed. Kobena Mercer (London: Institute of International Visual Arts, 2005), pp. 168–89, and "O Hélio não tinha Ginga / Hélio Couldn't Dance," in *Fios Soltos: A Arte de Hélio Oiticica,* ed. Paula Braga (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2008), pp. 27–65.

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In "Neo-concretism, Apex and Rupture of the Brazilian Constructive Project," Brito advocated a "non-anecdotal interpretation of art history" that would operate "at the level of concepts and ruptures" rather than "chronological sequence or apparent transformations" (p. 109). This methodological imperative marked his study's difference from a celebratory discourse buoyed by the art market as well as either a conservative or leftist historicism that prioritized continuity and national patrimony. At a more profound level, it aligned his approach with a Benjaminian tradition of historical materialism, one in which the critic writes from a "state of emergency" (for Benjamin, Nazi Fascism; for Brito, less explicitly, the military dictatorship), taking a dialectical "leap in the open air of history" in order to explode its "homogeneous, empty time."[45] In materialist historiography, as Benjamin wrote, "time is filled by the presence of the now."[46] It presumes neither neutrality nor universality; its position is one of struggle and urgent contestation.

It light of such a materialist historiography, it is no wonder that Brito had recourse to the language of 1970s conceptual art (circuit, system, insertion, ideological apparatus) in order to analyze the Neo-concretism of the late 1950s.[47] Such a leap implicitly politicized his historical analysis. It allowed him to launch a critique—by means of a dual displacement—that would otherwise be impossible, namely, of the contemporary art boom's complicity with the military regime and its economic ideology. Finally, it positioned his critical practice in line with key artistic strains in Brazil and beyond. Importantly, this orientation was sociological as much as aesthetic, as was *Malasartes* as a whole.[48] If Brito converged with contemporaneous artistic practices, then, it was at the level of conceptual strategy and theoretical orientation, not poetics or medium.[49]

Brito's Neo-concretism study was published in the third and last issue of *Malasartes*. In the ensuing months, discussion among the nine editors polarized around two strategies for moving forward. One group advocated amplifying the magazine's reach in terms of content and circulation, even if at the cost of theoretical

45. Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History" (nos. 8, 14, and 13), in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1978), pp. 257, 261.

46. Ibid., p. 261.

47. Ibid.

48. Brito, "Malasartes: Um depoimento pessoal," p. 95.

49. In this, his approach departs markedly from the slightly earlier experiments of fellow critic Frederico Morais, who responded to the provocation of Meireles's *Insertions into Ideological Circuits* and other works with art interventions of his own. These experiments were part of a larger project Morais termed *Nova Crítica* (New critique), which sought to mobilize "poetics" rather than "judgment" in the critical endeavor. See Morais, p. 312. Notably, this included the critic's exhibition *Agnus Dei* at Petite Galerie in Rio (see note 22), as well as a letter sent to the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in the wake of Kynaston McShine's *Information* exhibition, stamped with the phrase "Brasileiros Retornem" (Brazilians return), a riposte to the imperative "Yankees Go Home," which Meireles had stamped on the Coca-Coca bottles exhibited there as part of *Insertions into Ideological Circuits*. See also Tamara Silva Chagas, "Da Crítica à Nova Crítica: As Múltiplas Incursões do Crítico-Criador Frederico Morais" (Ph.D. diss., Programa de Pós-Graduação em Artes da Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, 2012).

rigor; the other argued that it should be further radicalized as a cultural agent.[50] With no agreement, the journal ceased publication. Brito was sympathetic to the second strategy, and in 1980, in the midst of the *abertura* (opening) that marked the gradual dissolution of the dictatorship, he co-founded another publication, *A Parte de Fogo*, with several former editors of *Malasartes* (Meireles, Resende, and Caldas). Taking its name from Maurice Blanchot's 1949 collection of essays *La part du feu*, the broadsheet aimed to "intervene" within the current culture of re-democratization, one no longer marked by direct repression but by a pernicious and authoritarian moral of "conciliation."[51] The journal lasted only one issue. But it is evidence that the critical drive of *Malasartes*—its desire to imagine a public that was not simply synonymous with a market or national "tradition"—was not lost. When one considers the host of small journals (*GAM*, *Item*, *Revista Número*, *Caderno e.i. (espaço impresso)*, etc.) that emerged in subsequent decades that looked back implicitly or explicitly to *Malasartes*, it is likewise evident that a critical Brazilian art history no longer exists as "residues" and "fragments," as Brito put it in 1975.[52] Such a history is engaged dialectically, at times despite a poverty of institutional means. Finally, when one takes stock of a host of other contemporary practices—think of Seth Price's appeal to distributed media, Hito Steyerl's analyses of circulation and velocity, *DIS* magazine's mobilization of communicative platforms—*Malasartes*' foregrounding of the inextricability of the market and the work of art, its search for fissures and sites for intervention, appears prescient and increasingly relevant today. As Price, citing Marcel Broodthaers, opened his 2002 text *Dispersion*, "The definition of artistic activity occurs, first of all, in the field of distribution."[53]

Brito's historical study, meanwhile, has in a certain way become a victim of its own success. The critic's assertion that Neo-concretism inaugurated the foundations of contemporary Brazilian art is now doxa, while Neo-concrete art increasingly surfaces within international exhibitions as the signal form of Brazilian art writ large. Yet this canonization has been accompanied by a relative lack of art-historical or critical debate, a fact Brito himself has lamented. Without strong analyses "even to contest my reading," he remarked in 2012, Neo-concrete artists "have become a locus of fetishization, which can't be beneficial from the point of view of thinking, of culture."[54] Indeed, it is only relatively recently that the field has begun to produce sig-

50. Brito, "Malasartes: Um depoimento pessoal." The mainstream newspaper *O Globo*, for example, offered to sponsor the journal, a collaboration several of the editors opposed.

51. *A Parte de Fogo* 1 (March 1980), n.p.

52. See, in particular, Roberto Mereira Junior, org., "Malasartes e o circuito de arte brasileira dos anos 1970—análises e desdobramentos," a research project of *Permissividades e Vulnerabilidades Práticas—Espaços impressos, físicos e discursivos,* published electronically in *Caderno e.i.* 1 (Edições Traplev Orçamentos: 2011), https://issuu.com/traplev/docs/caderno_e.i-1__analise_e_desdobramento_malasartes_.

53. Seth Price, *Dispersion* (2002–), n.p. Available online: http://www.distributedhistory.com/Dispersion2016.pdf.

54. Bruno Garcia, "Ronaldo Brito: Abaixo o modernismo!" The frequent schematization and simplification of Concretism within the reception of Neo-concretism is symptomatic here as well. On the occasion of the 2014 retrospective of Waldemar Cordeiro, for example, Ferreira Gullar himself noted the urgency of revisiting his prior assumptions about the artist's work. See Ferreira Gullar, "Um Cordeiro Inquieto," *Folha de São Paulo*, February 15, 2015.

nificant elaborations, rejoinders, and, in rare cases, explicit critiques of Brito's pioneering analysis. These threads of research include complicating his reductive reading of Concretism; questioning the definitiveness of the Rio–São Paulo split (and even Neo-concretism's coherence as a movement); engaging the theoretical and critical production of Gullar and Pedrosa; displacing an emphasis on Max Bill in favor of diverse points of influence (Alexander Calder, Ivan Serpa, Josef Albers, Nise de Silveira); pressuring the relations between phenomenological activation and social space; mobilizing the very "peripherality" of Neo-concretism to remap transnational constellations.[55] But there is much more serious work to be done. As both Neo-concretism and the conceptual practices linked to *Malasartes* in the 1970s are absorbed within a global art circuit—often unhinged from their original or subsequent critical apparatus—one must insist that the theorization of Brazilian art history is not a tabula rasa.[56] The global art circuit, of course, operates in concert with the ever-increasing forces of the market. In this sense, it is well worth returning to the gauntlet Brito threw down in 1975: to construct a critical art history that would not merely "eulogize our heroes, the myths of our cultural tradition" but actively re-situate "contemporary Brazilian and international art as an object of discussion."[57] The imperative would seem all the more urgent today.

55. This scholarship would include, among others: Aracy Amaral, ed., *Arte Construtiva no Brasil: Coleção Adolpho Leirner* (São Paulo: Editora Melhoramentos, 1998), in particular essays by Anna Maria Belluzzo and Paulo Sergio Duarte; Sonia Salzstein, *Franz Weissman* (São Paulo: CosacNaify, 2001); Paulo Herkenhoff, "Divergent Parallels: Toward a Comparative Study of Neo-Concretism and Minimalism," in *Geometric Abstraction: Latin American Art from the Patricia Phelps De Cisneros Collection*, ed. Yve-Alain Bois (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 2001), pp. 105–31; Asbury, "Neoconcretism and Minimalism: On Ferreira Gullar's Theory of the Non-object"; Lorenzo Mammi, André Stolarski, and João Bandeira, eds., *Concreta '56: A Raiz da Forma* (São Paulo: Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, 2006); Robert Kudielka, Angela Lammert, and Luiz Camillo Osorio, eds., *Das Verlangen nach Form / O Desejo da Forma: Neoconcretismo und zeitgenössiche Kunst aus Brasilien* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 2010), in particular essays by Osorio, Rodrigo Naves, and Sonia Salzstein; Maria Amalia Garcia, *El arte abstracto: Intercambios culturales entre Argentina y Brásil* (Buenos Aires: Siglón XXI, 2011); Flavio Rosa de Moura, "Obra em Construção: A Recepção do Neoconcretismo e a Invenção da Arte Contemporânea no Brasil" (Ph.D. diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2011); Sérgio B. Martins, *Constructing an Avant-Garde: Art in Brazil, 1949–1979* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013); Pedro Erber, *Breaching the Frame: The Rise of Contemporary Art in Brazil and Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); Irene V. Small, *Hélio Oiticica: Folding the Frame* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Mónica Amor, *Theories of the Nonobject: Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, 1944–1969* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016); and forthcoming studies by Kaira Cabañas (*Expressive Restraint: Modern Art and Madness in Brazil and Beyond*); Aleca Le Blanc (*Concrete and Steel: Art and Industry in Rio de Janeiro*); Adele Nelson (*Forming Abstraction: Art and Institutions in Brazil*); and Heloisa Espada (*As Origens da Arte Concreta em São Paulo: Uma História Contada Pelas Obras*). The recent publication of a major volume of the writings of Waldemar Cordeiro, leader of the Concrete movement, likewise stands to adjust the asymmetrical reception of these movements. See *Waldemar Cordeiro: Fantasia Exata* (São Paulo: Itaú Cultural, 2014).

56. On this issue see also Sérgio B. Martins, "Bursting on the Scene: An Introduction," *Third Text* 26, no. 1 (January 2012), pp. 1–4, as well as his "Letter to the Editor," *ArtMargins* (February 20, 2014), http://www.artmargins.com/index.php/122-about-artmargins/letters/731-letter-to-the-editor.

57. Brito, "Análise do Circuito," p. 6.